a large hole where these protruded through and two small holes that marked the eye sockets. The ears he usually cut off at the roots, and pulled them out of the skin with his teeth at his leisure; but in certain circumstances, when it was forbidden to use a knife, he pulled free the outer integument on the spot.

In the late spring, when the caribou was putting on a new coat, the winter hair remained longest on the throat and belly. As this part was useless for clothing, the hair being prone to shed, the Eskimo frequently preserved only the part on which the new coat had already formed and threw the rest of the skin away. In such cases the preliminary incisions for removing the skin followed the outlines of the short hair. Often, however, the native anticipated the natural shedding of the winter hair by pulling it out with his thumb and fingers, leaving the new coat very short and spotted with white hairs, but in this condition highly prized. Later in the season, when the belly of the animal was covered with short white hair, invaluable for trimming, he made a cut along each flank and removed that part of the skin before detaching the remainder.

Blood stains were extracted by rubbing or stamping the skin in hard snow, which acted like damp blotting paper; or by steeping it in cold water and squeezing the hair. The Copper Eskimo woman was very careful not to allow a green skin to dry before scraping away with her curved knife the fat that still adhered to it; and as these scrapings were pure fat, she generally ate them at once, or put them aside for future consumption. Then she stretched the skin out to dry by pegging it to the ground with sticks or weighting down the edges with stones; the white belly skin and the large short-haired skins intended for bedding she always pegged down in order to stretch them as much as possible. When travelling across country day after day in the short Arctic summer, the skin was laid over the back of the pack or across a long pole; and at every halt it was stretched out afresh on the ground to hasten the drying, because a green skin weighed twice as much as a dry one. Once the skin was dry it could be laid aside and not touched again until needed. Then the owner sewed up the rents and scraped the whole underside with the copper- (now iron-) bladed scraper (see p. 84). The woman (or man, for the men often scraped skins while the women sewed them) sat back on the sleeping platform, or on the ground outside the tent, and stretched out the skin in front of her. Holding it tightly pinioned at the bottom between her crossed legs, she pulled it taut above the knee with her left hand and scraped rapidly downwards away from her with the right. A sudden relaxation of the leg, and a quick jerk, found her scraping in a new place. To the onlooker her body seemed strained and her attitude very uncomfortable, but long practice greatly reduced the fatigue, though the labour really was hard. Indeed I have seen the perspiration rolling down a woman's face as she scraped a skin outdoors when the temperature was below zero Fahrenheit.

The Copper Eskimo woman often ate the scrapings that came away during this operation, although they contained very little fat. To soften the skin still further she rubbed tepid water over its under surface, folded it up, and laid it on one side for a few hours. Then she scraped it again, this time with an instrument made from the shoulder blade of a musk-ox, which merely stretched and softened the skin without removing anything from its surface (see p. 83).

The stretching and softening of the skin was usually the last process it underwent before it was made up into clothing. If, however, the woman desired the skin without fur, as for making the upper legs of her long boots, she scraped the hair from the dry skin with her curved knife. Copper Eskimo clothing was often decorated with red, black, or white bands; the white was the natural colour of the skin; the red was produced by rubbing with litharge; and the black parts were either untanned sealskin, or else seal or caribou skin stained with galena. Ordinary dirt stains on white deerskin could be removed with dry snow.

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shoe. In boots, however, this V-shaped piece was never narrow, as in many shoes, but covered most of the upper surface of the foot. The leg was sewn on last; besides the seam where it joined the foot, it bore a vertical seam up the front. The loops for the cord were an integral part of every waterboot, being carefully stitched in when the sole was sewn to its V-shaped upper. Grass insoles, such as were worn in waterboots by more western natives, were not current among the Copper Eskimo, whose short socks of seal and caribou fur fulfilled the same purpose.

[824]

One saw occasionally a hybrid type of boot, which had the sealskin foot of a waterboot but a leg of caribou fur, usually, if not always, taken from an outer stocking that had worn out in the sole. Boots of this type, like the boots with legs of haired sealskin, functioned only in the early spring and late autumn; from the beginning of June until October waterboots prevailed at all times, except that the low sealskin shoes served as slippers around camp.

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Figure 13. Man's outer stockings. IV. D. 773, 784. Approx. 1/3.

296 Boot soles, like the soles of shoes, were naturally reinforced with patches that demanded repair or replacement every 2 or 3 days when travelling over stony ground. As soon as the hunter returned to camp each evening his wife turned his boots inside out to dry, and, if necessary, soaked in a pot of urine enough sealskin to patch them in the early morning. Hide from the bearded seal lasted three or four times as long as hide from the foetid seal, but the Eskimo seldom possessed enough of the material.

ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF COPPER ESKIMO CLOTHING

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Some of the disadvantages of Copper Eskimo clothing have been mentioned already. The caribou fur shed its hair with dampness, and the shoes and boots soled with the skin of the common seal quickly wore out on stony ground and required almost daily patching during the summer months. The swarming mosquitoes of midsummer frequently assailed the only half-covered knees and wrists; the high-waisted coat hardly checked the winter gales from chilling the stomach; and the rather scanty hood could not shield the forehead and cheeks from frostbite. Despite these defects the costume of the men was extraordinarily well adapted to the climatic conditions, and capable of very little improvement with the meagre resources at their command. It was both lighter and warmer than woollen clothing of proportionate bulk, and at the same time much healthier, because it allowed the air to circulate freely under the trousers and coat. The four-layered footgear was eminently practical, being much easier to dry over a blubber-burning lamp than the thick-furred two-layered footgear, fitting tightly around the legs of long breeches, which has long been fashionable among the Eskimo of the Mackenzie River delta and northern Alaska. The women's costume, however, was much less satisfactory. The wide shoulders and enormous hood were wholly unnecessary, and the latter both heavy and cumbersome. Worse still were the ridiculous stockings, which hardly protected the legs even in mild weather, and in blizzards frequently filled with snow. More than one woman had lost her toes by wearing them, and many had incurred severe frostbites.

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The Copper Eskimo took great care of their clothing, as was only natural, seeing that skins were never too plentiful and the labour of dressing them, cutting them out, and sewing them together was considerable. The first thought of every native on entering a snow-hut was to beat the loose snow from his clothing with the stick that each household provided for that purpose. Spare clothes were packed away in large seal- or caribou-hide bags, which were stored in winter either in a cavity under the sleeping platform or on the roof of the snow-hut beyond reach of the dogs; in summer they were deposited on high caches under other possessions, or buried beneath mounds of stones. Strips of white fur from the belly of the caribou received special attention on account of their value for insertions, and the women carefully cleansed them of all dirt and blood-stains with soft snow.

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ADORNMENT

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Ornaments and Charms Attached to Clothing. Men's coats often trailed on the back white lemming skins, arranged with the usual regard for symmetry. There were generally three skins, one attached to the back of each shoulder and the third spaced half-way between them at a somewhat lower level (*See* Figure 36); rarely there were five, arranged in the same fashion, but, of course, closer together, and forming a slightly curved line parallel with the lines at the neck and waist. A native who owned only one lemming skin generally sewed it mi-lway between the shoulders, but at times suspended it from a button in the small of the back. This button, made of bone, musk-ox horn, or, rarely, the boiled albumen of a bird's egg (Figure 37), appeared quite frequently on the everyday outer coat, and was an integral part of the heavy winter coat used in sealing, where it served to attach both the hunter's foot-pad of polar bear or caribou fur and the bone pins with which he closed the wounds in his seals. Men seldom affected other ornaments, but one Prince Albert Sound Eskimo wore a bandolier of musk-ox fur, and another a bandolier of polar-bear claws suspended from a strap of caribou hide (Figure 38).

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SNOW DUSTER

The snow duster, used for beating the snow from the clothes immediately before or after entering the snow-hut (and also for driving out the dogs), was merely a stick 2 feet or less in length, slightly curved, and carefully smoothed so that it would not tear the clothes, but not ornamented in any way. A typical specimen is shown in Figure 82.

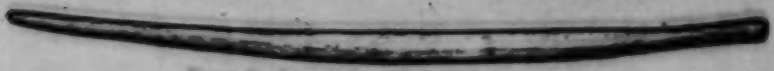

Figure 82. Snow duster. IV.D.1034. Approx. 1/4.

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BAGS FOR CLOTHING

The Eskimo kept their spare clothing in round or oval bags made of sealskin or caribou hide (Figure 81a). Caribou leg skins with the fur retained were preferred for the sides, and dressed sealskin for the bottom; but housewives used any material that lay to hand. Some of the round bags, which averaged about

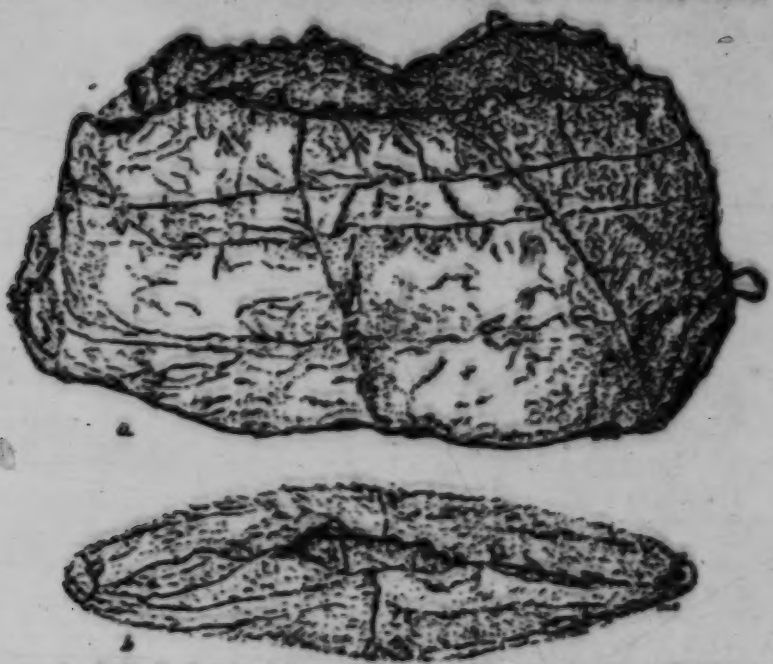

Figure 81. Bags for clothing. a: IV.D.60; b: IV.D.221. Approx. 1/6.

3 feet in diameter, laced across the top; others were tied with strips of skin extending from opposite sides, and fitted with strap handles of skin or plaited sinew to facilitate handling. The oval bag (Figure 81b) somewhat resembled

the men's tool bag, but was much larger and opened in the middle instead of at one end. Some women preferred this shape for storing the narrow white belly skins with which they decorated their garments, but it was far less common than the deeper rounded type. 296 281 415

In summer these bags of spare clothing were cached on top of high rocks out of reach of foxes. Rain occurred so rarely that their exposure to the weather brought little harm. In winter they were stored in a cupboard-like hole under the bed, or on the retaining wall outside the house. [353]

[illegible]

The willow mattress and bed skins have been described in Report of the Canadian Arctic Expedition, 1913-18, vol. XII, page 81. The sleeping bag was merely a long sack made from the heavy autumn skins of the caribou, unsewn or slit half-way down one side so that the occupant could crawl into it more easily. Husband and wife slept in one large bag; each child had a bag of its own. 513 [281]

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

ing my brief absence. It was now mid-April, and the natives were travelling in easy stages toward the land, allowing a few days between each migration for the women and children to freight forward the pokes of blubber and the men to resume their sealing. All the families had adopted skin tents in place of snow-houses, or, if their tents were still cached on the coast, they roofed circular walls of snow with the skins of caribou and musk-oxen. The camp was mottled with clothing, suspended from sticks, to dry in the warm sun; and at every little snow-flurry the women rushed from the tents to beat the light flakes from each garment before they melted and spoiled the fur. Night and day had merged into one another, the sun disappearing for one hour only at midnight; and the temperature remained fairly constant around 15°F., except at noon, when it mounted at times to the freezing-point.

The younger women, who were as well versed as the men in the peculiar habits of the seal, often went out with the hunters to escape the monotonous care of clothes and blubber. Each seal appeared to have its special territory, like a bird in the nesting season; and every half-hour or so it came to the surface to breathe. In summer, with open water all around, it rose at any place; but when the sea froze in the autumn it could reach the atmosphere only by breaking through the thin sheet of ice that covered its domain. The breathing-holes made at that season remained open

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

usual starting-point for Eskimos travelling to the Great Sound, since the hills immediately north were lower than at any other place either to east or west. Okowyarvik means "the Home of the Dryad," not the wood-nymph of that name, who could never find a home in this desolate land, but the *Dryas integrifolia*, a tiny flowering plant distantly related to our rose. The Eskimos generally paid little attention to the plants around them because they added nothing to their food supply; but the dryad, heather, and willow furnished their fuel during the summer months, and in the hills heather and willow were not procurable.

We lingered a week at "Dryad Harbour," for the season was still early and the snow that covered the land would last another month. While the men were hunting caribou the women overhauled their bags of clothing, putting aside all the heavier garments not needed again till winter. To these they added the furniture of the snow-huts, the long wooden tables, the drying frames, and a few of the stone lamps. Each family made a separate pile of its possessions, and on top of each pile the men deposited their sealing weapons, useless for the life on land. I myself cached nearly all my provisions—pemmican, rice, oatmeal, hard bread, and tea sufficient to last me about a month; only a little tea and cornmeal I retained on my sled, to ease the transition from the "balanced" diet of

29: Jenness E-5 (1914-1916) 1959
ND8 Copper Eskimo ND8

857 end of each day's march insisted on performing all the duties that her mother would have undertaken in the [372] same circumstances. She gathered fuel for our camp-fire while Patsy and I put up the tent, and she superintended, as far as she knew how, the cooking of the [291] evening meal. Then she dried our marching boots [296] (for we changed to slippers each evening), and, before breakfast, patched any holes that the stones might have [224] cut in their soles the day before. She shot an eider [226] duck along the way with Patsy's rifle, and if we had needed fish would have contrived some means of catching them, where Patsy and I might have failed. Altogether, her education was remarkably adapted to the country in which she lived, even though the three R's were not included in the curriculum.

231 There now befell us an accident, of a kind that in an Arctic winter often leads to serious disaster, but in our circumstances caused only embarrassment. One of our two dogs, prowling with its pack beside a cliff, became wedged in a crevice, and in trying to extricate itself lacerated its foot on a sharp rock. I bandaged the wound with a strip of skin and lightened the animal's load, but it was so crippled that it could hardly keep pace with us. We could not abandon it, nor, if we remained with it, could we hope to reach our destination. To our great relief, however, we found two families of Eskimos camping at the mouth of a small creek, who promised to take charge